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OHIO IN 1788.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, ETC., OF
THAT PORTION OF THE UNITED STATES SITUATED
BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA, THE RIVERS OHIO
AND SCIOTO AND LAKE ERIE.

Cutler

Translated from the French,

WITH

NOTES AND INTRODUCTION,

BY

JOHN HENRY JAMES.

COLUMBUS, O.:
A. H. SMYTHE.

1888.

17A

The following pamphlet, "Description of the Soil," etc., was written a century ago, and published in French and English, as a description of the Ohio Valley. The French copy, from which I make the translation, is dingy with age, and formerly belonged to one of the early settlers at Gallipolis, whose name, with the date of 1805, is inscribed on the cover. At this time, when the people of Ohio are preparing to celebrate the first centennial of the settlement of their State, this picture of what Ohio was, or was supposed to be, a hundred years ago, will doubtless be a matter of curious interest. I have prefixed an explanatory introduction, and added a few notes.

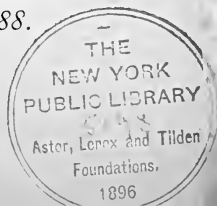
JOHN H. JAMES.

Urbana, Ohio, April 7, 1888.

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INTRODUCTION.

The French pamphlet, of which a translation is here given, is itself a translation of a pamphlet published in English at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1787. The French edition was published in Paris in 1789, the year of the breaking out of the French Revolution.* It was one of the means employed by Joel Barlow and other agents of the Scioto Company to promote the emigration from France which resulted in the establishment of the third permanent settlement in Ohio—that of the French at Gallipolis in 1790. But what *was* the Scioto Company? Who composed it? What was its relation to, or connection with the Ohio Company which made the first settlement of Ohio at Marietta? These are

* These pamphlets, both in French and English, are undoubtedly very scarce. I know of no other French copy but that here translated, and the original English is doubtless equally rare and inaccessible to the public in a separate form, though it has been recently re-published in an appendix to the Life, Journals and Correspondence of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, issued by Robert Clarke & Co., 1888. The curious reader by comparing the two versions can note the difference between the Paris and Salem editions.

among the most obscure as well as interesting questions connected with the early history of Ohio. The limits assigned to this introduction will not permit an exhaustive discussion of the subject, but the history of the matter is briefly as follows:

The western lands had long been looked to by Congress as a means of paying the public debt of the United States, and particularly the debt due the officers and soldiers of the Revolution. These gallant men had been paid off at the disbanding of the Army in certificates which were greatly depreciated in value—selling in the market as low as “six to one” or about sixteen cents on the dollar. But Congress had not at the close of the war the power of making these western lands available for the liquidation of these and other debts, or for the payment of the bounty lands which had been promised to the soldiers.

The lands were claimed by several of the individual States — Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York being those whose claim affected the territory north-west of the Ohio. As soon as these claims were ceded to the United States, Congress took

measures to bring the lands into market by treating with the Indians for the relinquishment of their title to part of the territory, and by providing for the survey and sale of the lands. *Thomas Hutchins (whose certificate will be found appended to the following pamphlet) was appointed geographer of the United States, an office apparently equivalent to that afterwards called surveyor general, and was directed to lay off seven ranges of townships immediately west of the Pennsylvania line in what is now the State of Ohio. These ranges were to run in a north and south direction and were to be numbered progressively from east to west, and the townships in each range were to be numbered consecutively from south to north beginning at the Ohio river. The townships were to be six miles square and divided into 36 sections, each one mile square and containing six hundred and forty acres. For the purpose of making these surveys one surveyor was appointed from each of the states, all to be under the orders of the geographer. Different portions of the work were assigned to such of these survey-

*See note I at the end of this introduction.

ors as reported for duty, and under them the work was done by contract under the protection of an escort of United States troops from Fort Harmer, which had been erected at the mouth of the Muskingum river in 1785. The lands were to be sold at not less than one dollar per acre, and sales of them were held in New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, by which a considerable amount was brought into the treasury of the United States.

It was intended that the same system of survey and sale should be extended northward to Lake Erie and westward through the territory, but the reservation of Connecticut caused the Congressional surveys in the eastern part of Ohio to be limited on the north by the 41st parallel, and west of the Scioto River the Virginia military land district intervened.

The State of Virginia, in making the cession of her rights in the Northwestern Territory to the United States, had reserved sufficient good lands between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers on which to locate the land warrants of the Revolutionary soldiers of Virginia, provided that the lands which had been reserved for that purpose, south of the Ohio,

and between the Green and Tennessee Rivers, should prove insufficient. That the lands selected should be "good lands" seems to have been sufficiently assured by the system adopted, which authorized each claimant to select the quantity he was entitled to out of any land not previously appropriated, and to make his survey of any shape, however irregular, which might be necessary to include the land he wanted. There were no better judges of land than those old pioneer surveyors, and the arrangement was an excellent one for the first comers, when "the world was all before them where to choose," but not so good for the last, who had to make a virtue of necessity, and take what was left. However, with the exception of a little marsh, there was little or no bad land in the Military District, while the most of it was as fine soil as ever the sun shone upon.

Virginia had appointed Colonel Richard C. Anderson Surveyor General, who had opened an office in Louisville in 1784. It soon became apparent that the lands south of the Ohio would prove insufficient, and on August 1st, 1787, the first entry was made in the Virginia Military District of Ohio.

Among the State surveyors appointed by Congress for the survey of the "Seven Ranges," was General Rufus Putnam, of Massachusetts, but he being at the time engaged in the survey of Maine, General Benjamin Tupper was appointed in his place. Both had been generals in the army of the Revolution, and a warm personal friendship seems to have existed between them. General Tupper visited the West in 1785, and though able to accomplish little or nothing in his survey, by reason of Indian disturbances, he was so pleased with the country on the Ohio, that on his return to Massachusetts he was enthusiastic in favor of a settlement on its banks. Early in January, 1786, he visited his friend General Putnam, at his home, and the two old soldiers spent nearly the whole night in discussing the subject. The result of their consultation was the publishing of proposals under their joint signatures, for a meeting to be held at Boston of delegates from the several counties, for the purpose of forming a company to purchase land and commence a settlement on the Ohio. A meeting was held as proposed, and the consequence was the formation of the Ohio Company, with a capital

of \$1,000,000. The members of the company were mostly officers and soldiers of the Revolution, men generally in the prime of life, but who had suffered in fortune during the war, and who looked forward with confidence and hope to building up new homes and fortunes in the western wilderness.

Among the leaders of the enterprise were men of superior education and distinguished ability, while all were full of energy, and well suited for so arduous an undertaking. The capital of \$1,000,000 was to be payable in Government certificates, and the principal applied to the purchase of land, of which, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, they expected to buy a million and a half acres; while one year's interest on the capital (a small per cent. payable in specie) was to be devoted to expenses.

On the 5th of July, 1787, Dr. Manasseh Cutler appeared in New York as an agent of the Ohio Company to negotiate with Congress for the purchase of lands. The only public lands then surveyed—those embraced in the seven ranges—had been, as we have seen, partially sold, and as the Ohio Company wanted their lands in a compact body to-

gether, the only parts of the territory open to them, and in which the Indian title had been extinguished, were either between the seven ranges and the Scioto River, or west of the Virginia Military District, and between the Miami Rivers. General Samuel Holden Parsons, afterwards a member of the Ohio Company, had descended the Ohio in 1785 as far as Louisville, and in a letter from the mouth of the Great Miami expressed himself as very much pleased with that location, but he preferred the region of the Muskingum, and it was selected by Dr. Cutler, by the advice of Colonel Hutchins, as the site of the Ohio Company's purchase. It remained to make a contract with Congress for the purchase of the lands, and this was surrounded with difficulties. The price fixed on the public lands had been, as we have seen, \$1 per acre, and a number of members of Congress were naturally averse to selling a large body at two-thirds of that price. Others objected to the large reserves proposed for public purposes, while some were opposed to any contract. "Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney and Few are troublesome fellows," wrote Dr. Cutler. "They must be attacked

by my friends at their lodgings." "If they can be brought over, I shall succeed, if not, my business is at an end." And again: "Of Few and Bingham there is hope, but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney is, I think, beyond our powers."

The *North American Review* for October, 1841, contains an article on the Ohio Company, giving copious extracts from the manuscript journal of Dr. Cutler, furnished to the writer of the article by Judge Cutler, a son of the doctor, which afford a mass of curious information, and throw much light on the history of the time.

It is foreign to our purpose to follow the maneuvers which finally resulted in carrying the matter through Congress. In the words of William Henry Smith (Life of St. Clair), "all available influences known to politicians" were brought to bear on those who stood out. Many of the most prominent men in Congress were strongly in favor of the project, and a powerful lobby outside was at work to bring over the reluctant members. "My friends," writes Dr. Cutler, "had made every exertion in private conversation to bring over my opponents in Congress. In

order to get at some of them, so as to work more powerfully on their minds, we were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person, who engaged a second, and he a third before we could effect our purpose. In these maneuvers I am much beholden to Colonel Duer and Major Sargent."

At about this juncture of affairs the zeal of the outside workers was stimulated by the prospect of a great speculation in land. "The paragraphs we next quote," says the writer in the *North American Review*, "not only disclose a part of the latent machinery by which the negotiations were brought to a successful issue, but may throw light on the mysterious subject of the Scioto Company, by whose professed agency the French emigrants, who finally settled at Gallipolis, were brought into such embarrassing circumstances." "Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, *to extend our contract and take in another company.*"

The "other company" here referred to was the Scioto Company, but just what it was and how far it was legally identical with, or a

branch of the Ohio Company, is a question of considerable difficulty. Judge Ephraim Cutler, in a communication published in Howe's Ohio, says: "The Scioto Land Company has been the subject of considerable mystery, and the cause of much misrepresentation. I am not precisely informed concerning its origin. It was probably started during the negotiation of Doctor Cutler with the old Congress in 1787, for the Ohio Company purchase." And after referring to the proposition of Colonel Duer, above mentioned, and saying that the other association was entirely distinct from the Ohio Company, he says: "The arrangements and objects of the Ohio Company and the Scioto Company are believed to have been very different. The aim of the Ohio Company was actual settlement by shareholders. The lands obtained were ultimately to be allotted in shares, of which no one was to hold more than five shares.

"The object of the Scioto Company seems to have been solely and simply land speculation. To purchase of Congress—nominally at two-thirds of a dollar per acre—paying mostly in continental paper at that time at enormous discount, so that in fact the actual cost per

acre might not be more than eight or ten cents, then to sell it at prices which would yield them enormous profits."

A careful study of the subject satisfies us that this statement of Judge Cutler is correct, as to the purposes of the Ohio Company, or at least the great majority of its members, but it seems equally certain that the agents of the Ohio Company, by joining forces at New York with the "other" company, so committed the Ohio Company to the purposes of the other, that they became essentially, in law and equity, one and the same thing.

On the 27th of July, 1787, Congress authorized the Board of Treasury of the United States to sell to the agents of the Ohio Company a tract of land "bounded by the Scioto river, the Western boundary of the seventh range of townships, and the Northern boundary of the tenth township continued west to the Scioto," estimated to contain five millions of acres. On the 27th of October, 1787, the agents of the Ohio Company, Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, in pursuance of this authority, contracted with the Board of Treasury, on behalf of themselves and their associates, for one million and a-half acres in the Eastern

part of the above described tract, and on the same day another contract was made with the Board of Treasury for the purchase of the remainder of the five million acres. "This contract," says the Attorney-General of the United States,* "is stated to be made with Messrs. Sargent & Cutler and their associates, but some parts of it, as well as the subsequent conduct of the parties, leave it doubtful whether these associates were the Ohio Company or other persons. But as that company had the pre-emption right granted to them—as the Board of Treasury were authorized to contract in that manner with their agents only—as both instruments form in substance but one contract, and as the payments to be made by the Ohio Company were the consideration of the long credit given for the residue purchase money—the legal and equitable construction, it is apprehended, must be that they purchased, as agents for the company, and not for themselves or others. This is corroborated by the sense of the company as expressed in certain resolutions passed on the 4th of October, 1788, in which they declare that their right of pre-emption of the whole land men-

**Amer. State papers—Public Lands, Vol. I, p. 29.*

tioned in the resolve of Congress cannot justly be called in question."

This view of the matter is further corroborated by the statements of Doctor Cutler's journal, which, if they had been before the Attorney General at the time, would probably have removed the doubts with which he qualifies his opinion. "I told them," writes Dr. Cutler, "that if Congress would accede to the terms I proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township, from the Ohio to the Scioto inclusively; by which means Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt; that our intention was an actual, large and immediate settlement of the most robust and industrious people in America, and that it would be made systematically, which would instantly advance the price of the Federal lands and prove an important acquisition to Congress."

This great increase in the quantity of land sold, and in the amount of the public debt paid, together with the prospect of immediate settlement by an organized company, seem to have been the consideration which finally induced Congress to make the sale at the reduced price, and on the long credit proposed.

On the 29th of October, 1787, Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, for themselves and their associates, assigned a one-half interest in the residue land described in the second contract with the Board of Treasury to William Duer and his associates, who agree to interest them in the profits arising from the sales of these lands in Europe or elsewhere, Duer being authorized to make such sales and to appoint an agent for that purpose.

The agent selected was Joel Barlow, who was a conspicuous figure in the literature and politics of the time. In his youth and early manhood, first a soldier, and afterwards a chaplain in the army of the Revolution, he was a student both of law and theology—identified with journalism and prominent both as a poet and prose writer. His literary fame rests chiefly on his "Columbiad" and other poems now unread, but he was also, during his long residence abroad, a writer on political subjects, and being an ardent republican, threw himself enthusiastically into the work of advocating the principles of the French Revolution, both in France and in England. Having been delegated by the London Constitutional Society to present an address to

the French National Assembly, he was received by that body with every mark of respect, and rewarded with the honor of French citizenship. Correspondence with him was one of the charges brought against Horne Tooke and others in their trials for high treason against the English Government. He made, about this time, a translation into English of the travels of Brissot de Warville in the United States about a century ago, the comments of the author of which, on the subject of the Scioto Company, and the condition of the Ohio Valley at that time, would be of great interest now, if we may judge from the extracts which we find quoted in other works. The manuscript, however, was never printed, owing to a previous London edition, and is, or was some years ago, in the collection of the Historical Society of Connecticut.

It was in May or June, 1788, that Barlow sailed for Europe as the agent of the Scioto Company to make sales of the land in the Ohio Valley, though other authorities speak of his being sent by the Ohio Company. The time of his arrival in France was peculiarly fortunate for the success of his enterprise. It was on the eve of the great revo-

lution, and the minds of men were in an excited and enthusiastic state, which made them prone to believe in and welcome any project painted to them in glowing and attractive colors. France, too, was full of men who had recently served in the American war, where they had caught the spirit of liberty and adventure, and their influence would be favorable to the project. Later on, too, as the Revolution advanced, and the Reign of Terror began to cast its shadows before, fear of the state of things at home gave an additional impulse to emigration on the part of many, who preferred facing the uncertainties of a distant enterprise to the certain dangers threatening their native land. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that many of the emigrants were of the Royalist party. Among them was the Count de Malartie, an officer of the French guard, who joined the expedition of General St. Clair, and served as a member of his staff at the disastrous battle which closed the campaign, during which he was severely wounded.

Barlow was assisted in his negotiations by other agents, among them an Englishman named Playfair, and a Frenchman named De

Saisson, and his operations were doubtless greatly facilitated by his acquaintance with men prominent in public affairs. Descriptions of the Ohio Valley, depicting its advantages, were distributed in Paris; the pamphlet which follows, which had been published in English the year before at Salem, Mass., was translated into French for this purpose. It was published anonymously, but was written by Dr. Manasseh Cutler. While its tints are sufficiently *couleur de rose*, and some of its statements—such as rice, cotton, and indigo being among the products of the Ohio Valley—appear extravagant, in the light of our present knowledge, yet it must be remembered that one hundred years ago Ohio was a comparatively unknown region, concerning which all intending settlers were enthusiastic; and a comparison with other cotemporary authorities shows that it represents very fairly the state of information existing at that date concerning the western country. But other information was distributed in Paris that was actually misleading. Frost, even in winter, was represented to be almost entirely unknown; there were no taxes to pay and no military services to be

performed; a map was exhibited on which were laid down the lands of the Ohio and Scioto Companies, and also those in the seven ranges—the latter and those of the Ohio Company being represented as settled and cleared, when in point of fact they were a wilderness broken only by the infant settlement at Marietta. But as we have said the state of the public mind was favorable to the reception of any flattering tale, and the people of Paris were too uninformed to distinguish the false statements from the true. “The example too,” says Volney in his view, “of the wealthy and reputedly wise confirmed the popular delusion; nothing was talked of in every social circle but the paradise that was opened for Frenchmen in the western wilderness, the free and happy life to be led on the blissful banks of the Scioto. At length Brissot published his travels and completed the flattering delusion. Buyers became numerous and importunate, chiefly among the better sort of the middle class; single persons and whole families disposed of their all, flattering themselves with having made excellent bargains.”—See Howe’s Ohio, p. 177-178.

Early in the year 1790 some 500 emigrants had been secured in France and started for the Ohio Valley. "Among them," says Howe, "were not a few carvers and gilders to his majesty, coach and peruke makers, friseurs and other artistes" accustomed to the life of a gay capital, and about as ill-fitted by previous habits of life and occupations as could well be conceived for the toil of clearing up farms in the western wilderness. But while these events were taking place abroad disaster was overtaking the speculation at home. The adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and the success attending the financial measures of Alexander Hamilton, had so improved the credit of the United States that Government securities which in 1787 were selling at an enormous discount, had greatly risen in market value. While this perhaps did not affect the members of the Ohio Company generally, who being mostly old soldiers held their own certificates issued to them for military services, it greatly enhanced the difficulties of those, who, like the projectors of the Scioto Company, had depended on the purchase of securities in the market as a means of paying the Govern-

ment for the land. At the same time the approach of Indian hostilities had checked emigration, and affected the sale of lands in the west. The consequence was that the purchasers of the three and a half millions of acres to the westward of the Ohio Company's original purchase found themselves unable to pay for their lands, and even the whole of the one million and a half acres could not be paid for. The map exhibited in France and the deeds given to the French emigrants represented their lands as seperated from those of the Ohio Company (that is from the million and a-half acres) by a north and south line striking the Ohio nearly opposite the mouth of the Great Kenahwa; and the purchasers, on their arrival in America, were received by Wm. Duer, agent for the Scioto Company, and by him directed to Gallipolis, which was laid out about three miles below the mouth of the Kenahwa river. This spot being within the limits of the million and a-half of acres originally purchased by the Ohio Company, Duer and his associates purchased of that company 100,000 acres, including the site of Gallipolis and the adjacent country, but the deed for the land so purchased was afterwards delivered

up and cancelled, the purchase money, as is alleged, not having been paid. The consequence was that when the French emigrants arrived they were unable to get any title to their lands.

It is difficult to trace through the mists of a century the line of demarcation between two companies whose affairs were so closely interwoven as those of the Ohio and Scioto companies were, or to determine where the responsibility for this state of things rests. As nearly as we can judge at this distant period the facts seem to be that while the purposes of the Ohio Company, or at least the great majority of its members, continued to be the same as those proposed at the time of its original formation, namely: actual settlement by shareholders who should divide the land among them; that the Scioto Company was formed for the purpose of a speculation in lands by Duer and other outside parties, and such individual members of the Ohio Company as might desire to join in the speculation; but that the Ohio Company, by its own acts and those of its agents, and by accepting the terms granted by Congress to the combined companies, became so committed to, and interwoven with the pur-

poses of the Scioto Company that the two became substantially the same thing. While this might not have been the intention, and doubtless was not on the part of many individuals who desired to keep the affairs of the two companies separate, it seems to have been the result both in law and equity.

“By this ordinance,” writes Dr. Cutler, “we obtained the grant of near 5,000,000 acres of lands, amounting to three millions and a-half of dollars, one million and a-half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company.”

And again, in speaking of his interview with Mr. Osgood, the President of the Board of Treasury, he says: “Our plan, however, I had no scruple to communicate, and went over it in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many valuable observations; the extent of his information astonished me. His views of the continent of Europe were so enlarged that he seemed to be a perfect master of every subject of this kind. He highly approved of

our plan, and told me he thought it the best ever formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantages of system in a new settlement; said system had never before been attempted; that we might depend on accomplishing our purposes in Europe; that it was a most important part of our plans, if we were able to establish a settlement as proposed, however small in the beginning, we should have encountered our greatest difficulty; that every other object would be within our reach; and if the matter was pushed with spirit, he believed it would prove one of the greatest undertakings ever yet attempted in America. He thought Congress would do an essential service to the United States if they gave us the land rather than our plan should be defeated, and promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor." These passages indicate the close connection between the two companies amounting to substantial identity. At the same time, however, it is evident that there was a great difference of opinion on these points among members of the Ohio Company, and it is impossible to tell at this date what facts may have been known to them, which are not now accessible to us. We

can only judge from the information which has come down to us.

But whatever the facts or merits of the case, the results were disastrous to the French colonists. The agents of the Scioto Company had contracted with General Putnam to erect about one hundred cabins on the site of Gallipolis for their accommodation, and they were supplied with provisions from the Company's store during the first few months. But they found the country, which had been represented to them as cleared and settled, to be an uninhabited wilderness, and the river on whose banks frost was said to be almost entirely unknown, was frozen from shore to shore the winter after their arrival. Supplies too, began to fail and had to be purchased from passing boats, and paid for in cash, which was becoming scarce. They had no title to their lands, and no prospect of receiving any. In this extremity a memorial was presented in their behalf to Congress, reciting the facts, and praying for a grant of land, which was made by Congress for their benefit. But in the meantime, most of the settlers had removed elsewhere. Some sought a residence in the more populous towns of the sea-board—others

in various places, and by the time the "French Grant" was made by Congress, comparatively few of the original settlers were left on the site of the third permanent settlement made in the State of Ohio.²

NOTE I TO INTRODUCTION.

Thomas Hutchins, geographer to the United States, was born in New Jersey about 1730. He entered the army in the French war and served at Fort Pitt and against the Indians in Florida. He was imprisoned in England in 1779, on the charge of having corresponded with Doctor Franklin, then American agent in France. On recovering his liberty he joined the army of General Greene, at Charlestown. He was nominated Geographer-General to the United States, and died at Pittsburgh in 1789. . He published an historical sketch of the Expedition of Bouquet against the Indians of Ohio in 1764. A topographical description of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Carolina, with maps. (London, 1778.) An historical account and topographical description of Louisiana, West Florida and Philadelphia (1784).—*Encyclo-*

² See Note 2 to introduction.

pedia Americana. Col. Hutchins was the engineer officer who accompanied Col. Bouquet's expedition in 1764, and drew the map of its route published in Hildreth's Pioneer History, and having also explored the Ohio country, as geographer to the King before the Revolution, he was peculiarly fitted to take charge of the public lands of the United States.

NOTE 2 TO INTRODUCTION.

Among the early visitors to Gallipolis was Louis Philippe, afterward King of France, but then a political exile and so poor that when he gave an entertainment to his friends at his rooms in Philadelphia he was obliged to apologize to some of his guests for giving them seats on the bed. He passed down the Ohio in 1798, and stopped at Gallipolis. Years afterward when he occupied the throne of France, a distinguished citizen of Ohio was presented at his court by the American Minister. The King received him very graciously and learning that he resided in Southern Ohio led the conversation to Gallipolis and the French settlers, and asked him if he knew a French baker there named ————. The gentleman replied that he

knew the man very well, but confessed his surprise at finding him among his Majesty's acquaintances. The King then spoke of his visit to Gallipolis and said he had improved the opportunity of his stop there to have a supply of bread made for his voyage. While the bread was baking, word came that the ice was coming down the river and that it would be necessary for his boat to start at once in order to keep ahead of it. What was to be done? It was impossible to delay his departure and it seemed equally impossible to go without the bread. In this dilemma the baker offered to go along with him with his ovens down the river far enough to finish the baking of the bread. He was accordingly hurried on board the boat, ovens and all, and they started ahead of the ice. When the bread was done the baker with his ovens were put on shore and returned to Gallipolis.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOIL, ETC.

The great river Ohio is formed by the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany in Pennsylvania. It flows from about 290 miles west of the city of Philadelphia, and about 20 miles west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania. In following the ordinary route the 290 miles are increased to 320, and the windings of the Ohio increase the 20 miles to about 42.

These two sources of the Ohio are both great navigable rivers; the first flows from the southeast, and there is, between it and the navigable waters of the Potamac, in Virginia, a portage of only about 30 miles;¹ the latter opens a passage to the northeast, and rises not far from the source of the Susquehanna.

The State of Pennsylvania has already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Alleghany River to Philadelphia by way of the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In following this route there will be only a transit by land, or portage, of 24 miles.²

At the junction of these two rivers, or at the source of the Ohio, we find Fort Pitt, which gives its name to the city of Pitts-

burgh, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity of the fortress. From this city the Ohio pursues its way to the southwest for 1188 miles (including the windings of the river) and empties into the Mississippi, after traversing for this prodigious distance a most fertile and agreeable country, and having increased its waters by those of several other navigable rivers: the Muskingum, the Hockhocking, the Scioto, the Miami and the Wabash from the northwest; the Kenhawa, the Kentucky, the Buffaloe,³ the Shawnee⁴ and the Cherokee⁵ from the southwest; all these rivers, navigable for a distance of from 100 to 900 miles, fall into the Ohio, and it is this river that furnishes a great part of those united waters which flow into the ocean through the bed of the Mississippi.

The Ohio, from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, separates the State of Virginia from other domains of the United States, or in other words, from the territory not comprised within the limits of any particular State. This territory extends westward to the Mississippi, and north to the frontiers of the United States. Commencing at the meridian which forms the western boundary of Pennsylvania

they have laid off a space sufficient for seven ranges⁶ of *municipalities* (townships). As a north and south line extends along the Ohio in a very oblique direction, the western boundary of the seventh range strikes the Ohio nine miles above the Muskingum, which is the first large river which empties into the Ohio. Their junction is 172 miles below Fort Pitt, following the winding of the Ohio, but in a straight line little more than 90 miles.

The Muskingum is a river which flows slowly, and has banks high enough to prevent all inundation. It is 250 yards wide at the place where it enters the Ohio, and is navigable for large vessels and bateaux as far as Tree Legs, and for small boats to the lake at its source. From thence by means of a transit by land of about one mile⁷, communication is opened with Lake Erie by means of the Cuyahoga, which is a river of great value, navigable through its whole length, without any cataracts to obstruct its course. The passage from Lake Erie to the Hudson, through the State of New York, is well known. The longest transit by land on this route is that which is caused by the falls of Niagara, which interrupts the communica-

tion between Lakes Erie and Ontario. After that one passes by the River Oswego, Oneida Lake, Woods Creek (the bay of the woods), and by means of a short portage, enters the Mohawk; another portage, occasioned by the cataract near the confluence of the Mohawk, and the Hudson brings the voyager to Albany.

The Hockhocking is somewhat like the Muskingum, but not so large. It is navigable for large vessels for about seventy miles, and much further for small ones. On the banks of this much frequented river are inexhaustible quarries of building stone, great beds of iron ore, and some rich mines of lead. We find also very frequently in the neighborhood of this river coal mines and salt springs, which abound in this Western country. The salt which is obtained from these springs furnishes a never-failing abundance of this article of prime necessity.⁸ Beds of clay, both white and blue, of an excellent quality, are met with also throughout this region. This clay is adapted for the manufacture of glass, of pottery, and all kinds of brick. Armenian⁹ clay, and several other useful deposits, have also been discovered along the different branches of this river.

The Scioto is a river longer than either of those of which we have thus far spoken, and furnishes a navigation much more considerable. For an extent of two hundred miles large vessels can navigate it. Then there is a passage to be made by land of four miles only to the Sandusky, a river also easily navigable, which empties into Lake Erie.¹⁰ It is by the Sandusky and Scioto that they pass generally in going from Canada to the Mississippi. This route is one of the most considerable and most frequented found in any country. By it are united some of the most extensive territories; and when we consider the rapidity with which settlements are made in the Western part of Canada, upon Lake Erie, and in Kentucky, we may predict that there will be an immense commerce between these people.¹¹ It is certain that the lands which border upon, and which lie near these rivers, will be of the greatest value from their situation alone, and quite apart from their natural fertility. There can be no doubt that the flour, wheat, hemp, etc., exported from the extensive regions surrounding Lakes Huron and Ontario would have an easier transit by means of Lake Erie

and the neighboring rivers than by any other route. The merchant who shall in future inhabit the banks of the Ohio will be able to pay more for these commodities than the merchant of Quebec, by reason of these advantages, because they can be transported from the former of these countries to Florida and the West India Islands with much less expense and risk, and at a much lower rate of insurance than from the latter. In fact, the transportation of these productions of the soil, the expenses upon the Ohio included, would not amount to more than a fourth part of what it would cost from Quebec, and it will be still cheaper than it is by way of Lake Oneida.

The Scioto has a gentle current, which is interrupted by no cataracts. Sometimes in the spring it overflows its banks, which are covered by vast fields of rice, which Nature here produces spontaneously.¹² For the rest, we find in abundance in the country which borders upon this river, salt springs, coal mines, deposits of white and blue clay and of free stone.

The general expressions of admiration which are commonly made use of in speaking

of the natural fertility of the countries watered by these western rivers of the United States render difficult the description one would wish to make, unless one takes particular pains to mark on the map the places which merit especial attention, or unless he gives an exact description of the territory in general without regard to the risk he runs of being charged with exaggeration. But upon this point we are able to say that we have with us the unanimous opinion of geographers, of surveyors and of all those travelers who have collected precise information concerning the characteristics of the country, and who have observed with the most scrupulous exactitude all the remarkable objects which Nature there displays. They all agree that no part of the territory belonging to the United States combines in itself so many advantages, whether of salubrity, fertility or variety of productions, as that which extends from the Muskingum to the Scioto and the Great Miami.¹³

^a Colonel Gordon speaking of his travels through a country much more extensive in which this is included and of which it is

a. An English Engineer during the war of 1755-63.

indubitably the most beautiful part, makes the following observations: "The country along the Ohio is extremely agreeable, filled with great plains of the richest soil and exceedingly salubrious. One remark of this kind suffices for all that region bounded by the western slope of the Allegheny mountains and extending to the southwest a distance of five hundred miles down the Ohio, thence to the north as far as the source of the rivers that empty into the Ohio, and thence eastward along the hills which separate the lakes from the river Ohio as far as French creek. I can, from the perfect knowledge which I have of it, affirm that the country which I have just described is the most salubrious, the most agreeable, the most advantageous, the most fertile land which is known to any people of Europe, whatsoever."

The lands which are watered by the different rivers emptying into the Ohio, of which we have just spoken, are, since the time of Col. Gordon, better known, and can now be described with more precision and in a manner which ought to inspire confidence.

They are remarkable for their variety of soil from which results everything which can

contribute to the advantages due to their local position and which promise the success and the riches which ought to burst forth among every agricultural and manufacturing people.

The great level plains which one meets with here and which form natural prairies, have a circumference of from twenty to fifty miles, they are found interspersed almost everywhere along the rivers. These plains have a soil as rich as can be imagined and which with very little labor can be devoted to any species of cultivation which one wishes to give it. They say that in many of these prairies one can cultivate an acre of land per day and prepare it for the plough. There is no undergrowth on them and the trees which grow very high and become very large^a only need to be deprived of their bark in order to become fit for use.

The kinds of timber fit for the purposes of the joiner which grow most abundantly in this country and the most useful of trees which are found here are the sugar-maple, the sycamore, black and white mulberry,

^a. Large and high trees are an indication of a rich soil.

black and white walnut, the chestnut, oaks of every kind, the cherry tree, beech tree, the elm, the cucumber tree, ironwood, the ash tree, the aspen, the sassafras, the wild apple tree, and a great number of other trees of which it is impossible to express the names in French.

General Parsons has measured a black walnut near the Muskingum, of which the circumference, five feet above the ground, was twenty-two feet. A sycamore measured in the same way had a circumference of forty-four feet. One finds on the heights white and black oaks as well as the chestnut, and nearly all the trees we have just named, which grow there, very large and to a proportionate height. One finds both on the hills and on the plains a great quantity of grapes growing wild, and of which the inhabitants make a red wine, which suffices for their own consumption. They have tried the experiment of pressing these grapes at the settlement of "Saint Vincent,"¹⁴ and the result is a wine which, by keeping a little while, becomes preferable to many of the wines of Europe. Cotton of an

^a A French settlement made some fifty years ago on the Wabash river to the westward of the Scioto.

excellent quality is also a product of the country.

The sugar-maple is of great value to a region situated as this is in the interior of the country. It furnishes enough sugar for the use of a large number of people, and for this purpose a small number of trees are usually kept by each family. A maple tree will produce about ten pounds of sugar per year, and it is produced with little difficulty. The sap of the tree flows in the months of February and March; it becomes crystalized after being boiled, and the sugar is equal in flavor and whiteness to the best Muscavado.

All parts of this country are abundantly supplied with excellent springs, and one finds everywhere both small and large creeks, on which mills may be established.¹⁵ These brooks, useful for so many purposes, have the appearance of being disposed by the hand of art in such a manner as to contribute towards procuring every advantage which can make life desirable.

There is very little bad land in this territory, and no marsh. There are plenty of hills; their position is agreeable, and they are not high enough to interfere with their cultiva-

tion. Their soil is deep, rich, covered with trees of good growth, and adapted to the cultivation of wheat, rye, indigo, tobacco, etc.

The communication between this territory and the ocean is principally by the four following routes:

First: The route by the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie, and thence by the River Hudson we have already described.

Second: The passage by the Ohio and Monongahela to the transit by land already mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac. This land transit is about thirty miles, but it will very probably be diminished in a little while, by means of the plan which is actually in contemplation for opening a communication between these rivers.

Third: The Great Kenhawa which empties into the Ohio toward the confines of Virginia, between the Hochocking and Scioto, affords a very ready navigation towards the Southeast, and requires but a short portage to reach the navigable waters of the James river in Virginia. This communication, useful to the settlements between the Muskingum and Scioto, will very probably be the most fre-

quented for the exports of the manufactures of the country,¹⁶ and still more for the importation of foreign goods, because they can be carried more cheaply from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, than they now are from Philadelphia to Carlisle and the other counties situated in the lower part of Pennsylvania.

Fourth: But above all, it is upon the Ohio and Mississippi that there can be transported a great number of things necessary for the markets of Florida and the West Indies, such as wheat, flour, beef, bacon, timber for joinery and ship-building, etc., that they will be more frequented than any river upon the earth. The distance from the Scioto to the Mississippi is eight hundred miles, thence to the ocean nine hundred; all this journey can be easily made in fifteen days, and the voyage in reascending these rivers is not so difficult as one would suppose. Experience has demonstrated that one can make great use of sails on the Ohio.¹⁷

Here again is a fortunate circumstance: it is that the Ohio Company^a is on the point of

^a At this moment the establishments of this company are commenced and very flourishing.

establishing its settlements, and it is making them in a manner alike, systematic and judicious. Its operations will serve as a useful model for all the settlements which will be found in the future in the United States. Add to this that this new colony is established so near the Western boundary of Pennsylvania as to appear to be only a continuation of the older settlements, by reason of which there will no longer be reason to fear that these unsettled regions may be occupied by the savages, as has too frequently happened in situations very far removed from the seat of government.¹⁸

The intention of Congress, and that of the inhabitants, is that these settlements shall be made in a regular manner; that they shall follow the course of the Ohio, and that they shall commence by occupying the northern part of the country towards Lake Erie.¹⁹ And it is hoped that not many years will probably elapse until the whole country above the Miami will be raised in value to such a point that the advantages which travelers have celebrated will be seen in their true light, and it will be admitted that they spoke nothing but the truth when they called this country the

garden of the universe, the center of wealth, a place destined to be the heart of a great Empire.

The following reflections will not escape either the philosopher or the statesman, who shall see this delightful part of the United States settled upon a wise system and in a well ordered manner :

1. The labors of the agriculturist will here be rewarded by productions as useful as, and more varied than in any part of America; the advantages which are generally found divided in any other climate are here united; and all the advantages which other parts of the United States present, are here combined in the highest perfection. In all parts the soil is deep, rich, producing in abundance wheat, rye, corn, buckwheat, barley, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, the tree that furnishes the food of the silk-worm, the grape-vine, cotton. The tobacco is of a quality much superior to that of Virginia, and the crops of wheat are much more abundant here than in any other part of America. The ordinary crop of corn is from sixty to eighty English bushels per

acre.^a The bottom lands are especially adapted to the production of all the commodities we have just enumerated. There where the vast plains, which are met with in this territory, are intersected with little brooks, the land is suitable for the culture of rice, and it grows here abundantly. Hops also are produced spontaneously in this territory, and there are also the same peaches, plums, pears, melons, and, in general, all the fruits which are produced in the temperate zone.

There is no country more abounding in game than this. The stag, fallow deer, elk, buffalo and bears fill the woods and are nourished on these great and beautiful plains, which are encountered in all parts of these countries, an unanswerable proof of the fertility of the soil; wild turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, and so forth, are here found in greater abundance than are domestic fowls in all the older set-

^a General Parsons, one of the Commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of 1786 with the Indians, reports that Mr. Dawson, who has lived in this country ten years, had raised from eighty to one hundred bushels per acre. Last year he cultivated seven acres, on which his crop was six hundred bushels.

lements of America. The rivers are well stocked with fish of different kinds, and several of these fish are of an exquisite quality. In general they are large, the cat-fish (*poisson-chat*) has an excellent flavor and weighs from twenty to eighty pounds.

One will find here provisions for several years, and the borders of each one of these rivers will serve for a long time in place of a market. When inhabitants shall come here from all parts of the world nature will have provided for them, at least for one year, all that they need, without the necessity of making any purchases.

2. There is no place more suitable from its situation and productions for the establishment of manufactures than this. The necessities of life are abundant and cheap. The raw material for all things necessary for clothing and personal adornment are here found in quantities. Silk, flax and cotton bring a good price here; but these articles, being manufactured and being adapted for the different purposes of use and luxury, would still be cheap here by reason of the small amount of freight necessary to pay for their transportation. The United States,²⁰

and perhaps other countries beside, will be replaced, or superceded in the market, by the competition of the inhabitants of the interior parts of America.

The construction of vessels will be one of the most considerable branches of business on the Ohio River and its tributaries.²¹ In the lowest stage of water in the Ohio we find a depth of four fathoms from the mouth of the Muskingum to its junction with the Mississippi. In only one part is it very rapid, and there the navigation is interrupted for about one mile. Elsewhere throughout its whole extent the fall is not more than fifteen feet, and the bed of the river, which has a breadth of two hundred and fifty rods, has never less than five feet of water. In winter it increases to thirty feet: The river can be ascended not only by means of oars, but they readily surmount the current by means of sails only. Geographers and others who have seen the locality are of the opinion that if a canal²² were dug at a little less than half a mile south of the river, at a point where a low prairie is found, the current could be avoided and navigation thus be without interruption the whole year round.

Hemp, iron and ship timber are abundant and of good quality here. During the highest stage of water, which is from February to April, and frequently in October and November, vessels can easily pass the rapids with their cargoes to the sea even in the present condition of the river.

An English engineer, who has made a thorough examination of the western country, has communicated the following observations to Lord Hillsborough in 1770. This nobleman was the Secretary of State for the Department of America at the time when we were colonists of Great Britain, and when our country was regarded solely, as it could be made available for a market for English fabrics:²³

“No part of North America has less need of encouragement in order to furnish rigging for ships, and the raw materials destined for Europe, and to furnish to the West India Islands building material, provisions, etc., than the Ohio country, and that for the following reasons:

“I. The country is excellent, climate temperate; grapes grow without cultivation; silk worms and mulberry trees abound everywhere; hemp, hops and rice²⁴ grow wild

in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron abound in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and there is no country better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax and cotton than that of the Ohio.

“2. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, which communicate with each other, and by means of which, with a very short transport by land, the productions of the Valley of the Ohio can even at this moment²⁵ be conveyed at a much lower price to the seaport of Alexandria²⁶ on the River Potomac, where General Braddock landed his troops, than merchandise can be carried from Northampton to London.

“3. The Ohio River is navigable at all seasons of the year for large boats,²⁷ and during the months of February, March and April it is possible to construct large vessels upon it and send them to the ocean loaded with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, potash, etc.

“4. Flour, wheat, beef, planks for ship-building and other things not less useful can descend the Ohio to Western Florida and go thence to the West India Islands more cheaply and in better condition than the same mer-

chandise can be sent from New York or Philadelphia to the same islands.

“5. Hemp, tobacco, iron and similar bulky articles can descend the Ohio to the ocean at least 50 per cent. cheaper than the same articles have ever been transported by land in Pennsylvania over a distance no greater than sixty miles, although the expense of carriage there is less than in any part of North America.

“6. The freight for transporting goods manufactured in Europe from the sea-board to the Ohio will not be so considerable as it now is, and always will be, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. When the farmers or merchants who dwell upon the Ohio set about providing for transportation they will build vessels of all kinds suited for commerce with the West India Islands and Europe, or, as they will have black walnut, cherry, oak, etc., sawed ready for foreign commerce, they will make of them rafts in the same manner as is practiced by those who live about the headwaters of the Delaware in Pennsylvania, on which they will put their hemp, their iron, their tobacco, etc., and with which they will go to New Orleans.

“The following observations should not be

omitted: They manufacture a great quantity of flour in the region situated in the west of Pennsylvania, and they send it by land to Philadelphia, which costs a great deal, and thence they send it by sea to South Carolina and Eastern and Western Florida, where they grow little or no grain. One may say that nature herself has designed the Ohio to be the river by which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, and that not only for the consumption of these two provinces, but still more for a considerable commerce which they carry on in that article with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements of Mexico. Quantities of mill-stones may be procured from the hills which border the Ohio, and the country everywhere abounds with water-courses suited to the construction of mills of every kind. The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is rarely made in less than a month, and they ordinarily pay fifty shillings a ton freight (a ton consists of sixteen barrels) for transportation that far. Boats carrying from 500 to 1,000 barrels of flour go in nearly the same time from Pittsburg to Pensacola as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and at half the expense. Merchants on the Ohio can furnish

flour on better terms than Philadelphia, and without running the risk of damage by sea or the delays of transportation on that element; and besides, without paying insurance, advantages which can not be enjoyed in the case of goods shipped from Philadelphia to Pensacola. And let no one imagine that this is a supposition merely; it is the constant experience. About the year 1746 there was a scarcity at New Orleans, and the French settlements on the banks of the Illinois, feeble in number as they were, sent thither in one winter alone 800,000 weight of flour." ²⁸ So that, in place of furnishing other nations with raw materials, some company of manufacturers might be introduced and established in these countries, so attractive by their situation, under the direction of men thoroughly competent to the task. Such an establishment would produce a considerable augmentation of population and wealth to these new settlements and would set a useful example to other parts of the United States.

3. The measures which have been taken by the act of Congress, providing for the disposition of the lands west of the Ohio as far down as the Scioto for the establishment and main-

tenance of schools, and of a University²⁹ shed an especial lustre on these settlements and inspire the hope that by the particular attention which has been given to education, the field of science will be extended, and that the means of acquiring useful knowledge will be placed on a more respectable footing in this country than in any other part of the world. Without speaking of the advantages of discovering in this new country species hitherto unknown in natural history, botany and medical science, it cannot be questioned that in no other part of the habitable globe can there be found a spot where, in order to begin well—there will not be found much evil to extirpate, bad customs to combat, and ancient systems to reform. Here there is no rubbish to clear away before laying the foundations. The first commencement of this settlement will be undertaken by persons inspired with the noblest sentiments, versed in the most necessary branches of knowledge, acquainted with the world and with affairs,³⁰ as well as with every branch of science. If they shall be so fortunate as to have at first the means of founding on an advantageous plan these schools and this University, and of sustain-

ing them in such a manner that the professors may be able to commence without delay the different labors to which they may be called, they will, in the infancy of the colony, have secured to themselves advantages which will be found nowhere else.

4. In the ordinance of Congress for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio it is provided that when the territory shall have acquired a certain amount of population it may be divided into several States. The most eastern of these³¹ (this is already provided for) is bounded by the Great Miami on the west, and by Pennsylvania on the east. The centre of this State will be between the Scioto and the Hochocking. The seat of government of one of these States will very probably be at the mouth of one of these two rivers. And if we may be permitted to forecast the future, we may imagine that when the United States of America, composed of an intelligent and renowned people, shall have greatly extended the boundaries of their dominions the general government will establish itself upon the banks of the Ohio. This country is at the centre of the whole Nation, it is a place the most convenient for all,

the most agreeable and probably the most healthy.

It is undoubtedly of the greatest importance that the Congress should soon fix the place of its residence ; nevertheless, in the present state of the country it is possible, some may think it not expedient to fix it immovably. Take the chain of the Alleghany mountains from north to south, it is probable that twenty years will not elapse before there will be more of the inhabitants of the United States living on the banks of the Western than on the Eastern rivers. The Western people ought now to understand that the government is disposed to favor them as much as their brethren who inhabit the Eastern part of the country. It is even necessary that they should have this feeling in order that they may not cherish dreams of independence, that they may not seek for other alliances, and that they may not take steps with especial view to their own welfare.³² As it is indisputable that it ought to be the principal object of the Legislature, and the one dearest to its heart to unite as great a number of people as possible, and render them happy under one government, every step which

Congress may take towards this new constitution will have this object in view; and, we will hope, will promote the success of the plan, and cause it to be regarded as inviolably established. There is no doubt whatever that sooner or later the government will either reserve to itself or purchase a suitable site on which to build the *city of the confederation*,³³ which will be at the center of the whole country; and that it will make known its intentions in this regard as soon as circumstances, such as an equal population in the new States, etc., will permit.

Such a determination, taken in advance, will give to the older States the power of carrying it into execution without causing any disturbance or dissatisfaction to any person, whilst it would inspire the new States with the hope of some day seeing the plan realized.

Extracts from letters of an American farmer, by M. S' John de Crevecoeur, French Consul to America. Second edition, Vol. 3, page 394:

The Ohio is the grand artery of that portion of America which lies beyond the mountains; it is the center in which meet all the

waters which flow on one side from the Alleghany mountains, and which descend on the other from the high lands in the vicinity of Lakes Erie and Michigan. It has been calculated that the region watered by all these streams, and comprised between Pittsburgh and the Mississippi, contains a territory of at least 260 miles square, or 166,980,000 acres. It is without doubt the most fertile country, with the most varied soil, the best watered, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and ready resources, of all those which Europeans have ever discovered and peopled.

It was on the tenth of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we abandoned ourselves to the current of the Ohio. * * * * This pleasant and tranquil navigation appeared to me like a delightful dream; each moment presented to me new perspectives, which were incessantly varied by the appearance of islands, points and bends of the river, constantly changing with the singular variety of shore, more or less wooded, from which the eye would, from time to time, wander to survey the great natural prairies which intersect them; constantly embellished by promon-

tories of different heights, which seemed to disappear for a moment, and then gradually develop to the eye of the navigator bays and coves, of greater or less extent, formed by the creeks (little navigable rivers) and the brooks which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers before which we passed. Their waters seemed as vast and as deep as those of the river on which we were voyaging.

Never before had I felt so disposed to meditation and revery; involuntarily my imagination darted into the future, the remoteness of which gave me no trouble, because it appeared to be near. I saw in fancy these beautiful shores ornamented with handsome houses, covered with crops, the fields well cultivated; on the declivities of the hills exposed to the north I saw orchards planted, on the others vineyards, plantations of mulberries, acacias, etc. I saw also on the low lands the cotton plant and the sugar-maple, the sap of which has become an article of commerce. I grant indeed that all the shores did not appear to me equally adapted to cultivation, but the different masses of trees with which they will necessarily remain cov-

ered will add still more to the beauty and the variety of the landscape of the future. What an immense chain of plantations! What a great career of activity, of industry, of culture and commerce is offered to the Americans. I consider therefore the settlement of the country watered by this great river as one of the greatest enterprises ever presented to man. It will be the more glorious because it will be legally acquired with the consent of the ancient proprietors and without the shedding of a drop of blood.³⁴ It is destined to become the foundation of the power, wealth and future glory of the United States.

Towards noon of the third day we cast anchor at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and a half of water. To give you a faint idea of what I may call the anatomy of the Ohio, I wish to tell you about this river to make you understand the utility of all its branches.³⁵

It empties into the Ohio 172 miles from Pittsburgh and has a width of 120 toises,³⁶ it is deep and navigable for large boats for 147 miles into the interior. Its freshets are moderate and it never overflows its banks, which are elevated, without being steep.

One of its branches approaches at the same time the principal of the sources of the Scioto called the Seccaium and the Sandusky river. This last falls, you are aware, into the great bay of the same name at the farther end of Lake Erie. It is near one of the principal branches of the Muskingum that the great Indian village of Tuscarawas is built, whence a portage of two miles only leads to the Cuyahoga river, deep and but slightly rapid, the mouth of which on Lake Erie forms an excellent harbor for vessels of 200 tons. This place seems designed for the site of a city, and several persons of my acquaintance have already thought so.³⁷ All the voyagers and hunters have spoken with admiration of the fertility of the hills and valleys watered by the Muskingum,³⁸ as well as the excellent springs, the salt wells, the mines of coal, particularly that of Lamenchicola, of the free-stone, fullers-earth, etc., which they find everywhere.

The next morning at day break we weighed anchor and after three days of quiet and pleasant navigation we came to anchor opposite the Scioto, 218 miles from the Muskingum and 390 from Pittsburgh, for the pur-

pose of receiving on board Gen. Butler, who came to conclude some negotiations with the Shawnees. It is from him that I had the following details concerning this fine river upon the banks of which he resided during the last five years of the war. The Scioto is almost as wide as the Ohio; its current is navigable for boats of medium size as far as the village of Seccaium, 111 miles from its mouth; it is at this village that the great portage to the Sandusky begins, which is but four miles. Judge of the importance of this communication, always much frequented by whites and Indians: the latter who have horses and wagons, transport merchandise at so much per hundred. This river waters a most extensive and fertile country, but rather flat. These vast plains so well known as Scioto bottoms commence a few miles above the river Huskinkus and continue almost to Seccaium. They are watered by the fine creeks, Alaman,³⁹ Deer, Kispoks, etc., and by a great number of considerable brooks. Several of these plains are from twenty-five to thirty miles in circumference, and as if Nature had wished to render them still more useful to

men she has sprinkled them with hills and isolated mounds, on which she has planted the most beautiful trees. These plains are never overflowed, and their fertility is wonderful. If a poor man, who had nothing but his hands, should ask me "Where shall I go to establish myself in order to live with the most ease without the help of horses or oxen?" I would say to him, "Go to the banks of one of the creeks in the Scioto bottoms; all that you will have to do will be first to obtain permission from the Indians from the neighboring village (this permission is no longer necessary since the treaty with them); second, scratch the surface of the earth and deposit there your wheat, your corn, your potatoes, your beans, your cabbage, your tobacco, etc., and leave the rest to nature. In the meantime amuse yourself with fishing and the chase."

Every spring a prodigious number of storks come to visit these plains; they are at least six feet high, and more than seven feet from tip to tip of wings. I have never seen them come to feed that they were not surrounded by sentinels who watch around them to announce the approach of enemies. Sometime

before their departure they assemble in great flocks, and the day being fixed, all rise, turning slowly, and preserving always the same order, they describe long spirals until they are out of sight.

Finally, on the tenth day after our departure from Pittsburgh, we cast anchor in front of Louisville, having made 750 miles in 212½ hours of navigation.

CERTIFICATE.

Having read, attentively, the pamphlet in which is given a description of the Western Territory of the United States, I, the undersigned, certify that the facts therein contained concerning the fertility of the soil, abundant productions and other advantages for the husbandman, are true and reliable, and that they correspond perfectly with the observations I have made during ten years which I have spent in that country.

[SIGNED.]

THOMAS HUTCHINS,

Geographer of U. S.

NOTES.

NOTE 1.—All the produce of the settlements about Fort Pitt can be brought to Alexandria, by the Youghiogany, in three hundred and four miles, whereof only thirty-one are land transportation; and by the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers, in three hundred and sixty miles, twenty of which only are land carriage.—*Gen. Washington to Gov. Harrison, Oct. 10, 1784.*

NOTE 2.—Pennsylvania—although the Susquehanna is an unfriendly water, much impeded, it is said, with rocks and rapids, and nowhere communicating with those which lead to her capital,—has it in contemplation to open a communication between Toby's Creek, which empties into the Alleghany River 95 miles above Fort Pitt, and the west branch of the Susquehanna, and to cut a canal between the waters of the latter and the Schuylkill, the expense of which is easier to be conceived than estimated or described by me. A people, however, who are possessed of the spirit of commerce, who see and who will perceive its advantages, may achieve almost anything. In the meantime, and the

uncertainty of these undertakings, they are smoothing the road and paving the ways for the trade of that western world.—*Gen. Washington to Gov. Harrison, Oct. 10, 1784.*

NOTE 3.—The Buffalo—Apparently the Green River.

NOTE 4.—The Shawnee—The Cumberland River was so called until it was given its present name by Dr. Walker, in 1747, in honor of the Duke of Cumberland.

NOTE 5.—The Cherokee—The Tennessee was formerly so called.

NOTE 6.—Seven Ranges—See introduction.

NOTE 7.—This old Indian portage, between the head waters of the Muskingum and those of the Cuyahoga, is within the present limits of Portage county, from which the county derives its name.

NOTE 8.—Salt Springs—"We have found several salt-licks within our surveys and we are assured there is a salt spring about forty miles up the Muskingum, from which a quantity of salt for the supply of the country may be made. Some gentleman at Fort Harmer doubt this information and think a supply

may be made at a spring on a branch of the Scioto."—*Pioneer History*, p. 211.

So great was the scarcity and value of salt during the first ten years of the settlement—not less than six or eight dollars a bushel—that the Ohio Company, in their final division of their lands, passed the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, It is believed that the great 'salt springs' of the Scioto lie within the present purchase of the Ohio Company; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the division of land to the proprietors is made upon the express condition and reserve that every salt spring now known, or that shall hereafter be found, within the lands that shall fall to the lot of any proprietor, be and are hereby reserved to the use of the company, with such quantity of land about them as the agents and proprietors shall think proper to assume for general purposes, not exceeding three thousand acres; the person on whose land they are found, to receive other lands of equal value." It so happened that the Scioto springs were situated a few miles west of the purchase and on the lands belonging to the United States.

When Ohio became a State, these noted springs, with those on Salt creek, in Muskingum county and at Delaware, were reserved by Congress for the use of the State with large tracts of land adjoining to furnish fuel for boiling the salt water. For many years these springs were leased to individuals and became a source of revenue to Ohio.—*Ibid.*, p. 260.

NOTE 9.—Armenian Clay.—A sort of Ochre.

NOTE 10.—Navigation and Portages.—To any one familiar with that part of Ohio in Hardin and adjoining counties where the Scioto and Sandusky rivers take their rise, and where the former can hardly be traced through the marsh at its source, the statement of the text as to the Scioto being navigable for large vessels for two hundred miles above its mouth, and its navigable head waters being within four miles of those of the Sandusky, and the similar statements about the Muskingum and Cuyahoga rivers, affording in like manner practicable routes of transportation and travel between the Ohio Valley and Canada, appear so extravagant as to be attributable either to gross ignorance of the

country or to a deliberate purpose to deceive. We are satisfied there was no intention to deceive on the part of the author, though he had very imperfect knowledge of the country. And yet these and similar water-ways and portages were regarded of such importance at the time as to warrant the insertion in the ordinance of 1787, among the articles of compact between the States, of the provision that the "navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying placed between the same, shall be common highways and forever free." The principal of these routes and portages in the Northwest territory were those discovered and used at a very early period by the French explorers, missionaries, soldiers and traders. The earliest of these was that up the Fox river from Green Bay and down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, explored by Marquette in 1673. The next was the route from the head of Lake Michigan by way of the Chicago or Saint Joseph's rivers to the Illinois river and thence to the Mississippi, followed by LaSalle in 1680-82, though there are indications in the writings of Hennepin of the route up the Maumee river and thence by portage to the

head-waters of the Wabash and by it to the Ohio and Mississippi, being known at a still earlier period. And it seems certain that as early as 1716 this latter route of travel was fully established by the French. The routes of navigation and portage referred to in the text, between the lakes and the Ohio River, by way of the Sandusky and Scioto, and of the Cuyahoga and Muskingum Rivers, and also that from Presqu' Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania), by way of French Creek to the Ohio, seem to have been discovered and used by the French at a subsequent period.

General Washington, in a letter written October 10, 1784, to Benjamin Harrison, then Governor of Virginia (Writings of Washington. Vol. IX, p. 58), in which he discusses at length the best mode of communication between the tide water region of Virginia and the Northwestern territory, by means of the Potomac and James Rivers, says: "It has long been my decided opinion that the shortest, easiest and least expensive communication with the invaluable and extensive country back of us would be by one or both of the rivers of this State, which have their sources

in the Apalachian Mountains. Nor am I singular in this opinion. Evans, in his map and analysis of the Middle Colonies, which, considering the early period at which they were given to the public, are done with amazing exactness, and Hutchins[†] since, in his *Topographical Description of the Western country*, a good part of which is from actual surveys, are decidedly of the same sentiments."

He then, after reviewing with a masterly breadth of statesmanship the future importance of the Northwestern Territory, both in a commercial and political point of view, and the necessity of establishing communication with it, recommends the appointment by Virginia of Commissioners for the purpose of making a careful survey of the James River and the Potomac from tide water to their respective sources, and the nearest and best portage between these waters and the streams capable of improvement which run into the Ohio.

"The navigation of the Ohio," he continues, "being well known, they will have less to do in the examination of it; but, neverthe-

[†] The Geographer of the United States.

less, let the courses and distances be taken to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that river (notwithstanding it is in the ceded lands) to the carrying place to the Cuyahoga; down the Cuyahoga to Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit. Let them do the same with Big Beaver Creek, although part of it is in the State of Pennsylvania; and also with the Scioto. In a word, let the waters east and west of the Ohio, which invite our notice by their proximity, and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the lakes on one side, and the Rivers Potomac and James on the other, be explored, accurately delineated, and a correct and connected map of the whole be presented to the public."

He estimated that if the improvements here indicated should be constructed, the distance from Detroit, "by which all the trade of the Northwestern part of the United Territory must pass" to the tide-waters of Virginia, could be made 176 miles less than to those of the Hudson at Albany. "Upon the whole, the object in my estimation is of vast commercial and political importance." * * *
"I consider Rumsey's discovery for work-

ing boats against the stream by mechanical powers principally as not only a very fortunate invention for these States in general, but as one of those circumstances, which have combined to render the present time favorable above all others for fixing, if we are disposed to avail ourselves of them, a large portion of the trade of the Western country in the bosom of this State irrevocably." (Gov. Harrison replied to this letter that he had submitted it to the Assembly, which would probably take favorable action. The James river Improvement enterprise, in which, if I mistake not, Washington was a large stockholder was doubtless the result.)

It must be remembered that ideas as to what constitutes a navigable stream have greatly changed in the course of a century. When transportation and travel were carried on upon our western waters by means of flat-boats, broad-horns, keel-boats and even bark canoes, which drew only a few inches of water and pushed their way up the rivers and their tributary creeks and bayous, and "wherever the ground was a little moist" many a stream figured as a navigable river which in these days of steamboats

would hardly be regarded as a reliable mill stream.

There can be no doubt, too, that the rivers themselves have greatly changed in the course of a hundred years. The report of the recent Forestry Commission, of the State of New York, speaking of the sources of the Hudson river, says: "That the summer flow of the Adirondack rivers has decreased within the memory of men now living, from 30 to 50 per cent. Many of the small streams which a quarter of a century ago were abundantly supplied with water during the entire summer, are now dry during many months." A somewhat similar change has unquestionably taken place in the rivers of Ohio. When the State was almost entirely covered by a forest, the surface water and the melting snows obstructed by fallen timber and by rank and decaying vegetation, drained off slowly and kept up a more even volume of water in the streams and rivers. Now, with much of the country cleared up, and thousands of miles of artificial drainage constructed, the water runs off rapidly, causing temporary freshets succeeded by longer periods of low water. If the same process of

wholesale destruction of forests should continue at the same rate for another century without being checked by restrictive legislation, or counteracted by artificial cultivation of timber, the State would become an arid waste, as portions of the valley of Mexico have done from a reckless destruction of forests by the Spanish conquerors three hundred years ago.

But while these ancient water-ways and portages have been superseded as means of communication, it is interesting to observe how, indicating as they do the lines of least elevation, they have been adopted as the routes of many of the great railroads of the present day. Thus the ancient portage between the Maumee and Wabash has become the route of the Wabash railway, and the route of the Kenawha and New rivers and the James has become that of the Chesapeake & Ohio.

NOTE II.—General Washington in speaking of this country, in 1784, says that it will, “so soon as matters are settled with the Indians, and the terms by which Congress means to dispose of the land found to be

favorable are announced, be settled faster than any other ever was, or any one would imagine."—*Writings*, IX, p. 62.

NOTE 12.—A plant called wild rice, on which numerous wild fowl feed, is found in the marshes bordering Lake Erie. A similar growth on the low bottoms of the rivers may have been mistaken by the early explorers for the rice of commerce.

NOTE 13.—“By the advice of Thomas Hutchins, Esq., Geographer of the United States, this tract (the Ohio Company's purchase) was located on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, he considering it the best part of the whole western country, and he had visited it from Pennsylvania to Illinois.”—*Pioneer History*, p. 299.

One of the settlers at Marietta, in a letter written May 18th, 1788, says: “This country for fertility of soil and pleasantness of situation, not only exceeds my expectations, but exceeds any part of America or Europe I ever was in. The climate is exceedingly healthy; not a man sick since we have been here. We have started twenty buffaloes in a drove. Deer are as abundant as sheep with you.

Beaver and otter are abundant. I have known one man to catch twenty or thirty of them in two or three nights. Turkeys are innumerable; they come within a few rods of us in the fields."—*Ibid.*, 208.

"The general appearance of the land is hilly, excepting on the borders of rivers, and other water courses, where there are extensive levels, commonly called bottoms. These bottoms are alluvial deposits, forming perhaps the richest soil known. Liable as they are to occasional overflow, they are kept constantly fertile by the deposit which is left, and produce, without requiring manure or a rotation of crops, an abundant harvest. The hills rising from these plains are generally steep, in some places declivitous, furnishing in most instances inexhaustible quarries of freestone. Veins of bituminous coal of various degrees of thickness (from 18 inches to 10 feet) are found in many of them."—*Journal Ohio Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 72.*

The soil of the Scioto bottoms has been compared to that of the valley of the Nile, and probably with little exaggeration.

NOTE 14.—St. Vincents, or Post St. Vin-

cents, or Post Vincennes, as it is variously called, on the site of Vincennes, Ind., was one of the early French settlements in the Valley of the Mississippi. The date of its establishment has been differently stated. A petition to Congress by the French inhabitants, during the administration of Washington, speaks of it as founded before 1742. Judge Law, on the other hand, fixes the date of its foundation as early as 1710. Other authorities and the general weight of tradition seem to fix its origin at about 1735, or slightly before; it must have been as early as this, for Captain Vincennes, for whom, and not for Vincennes in France, it seems to have been named, fell a victim to the Indians in 1737.

NOTE 15.—The following is an account of one of the early mills in Ohio:

“The other mill I saw in the year 1797 on the Scioto River. It was built on two large dugouts or canoes, with a wheel placed between them. This mill, after being moved up or down as the settlers at different stations needed its assistance in grinding corn, was tied to a tree in a rapid current, which, running against the wheel between the canoes,

turned the stones above under a kind of umbrella made of bark. At a distance it had the appearance of a crane flying up the river. It made a sound, for want of grease, like the creaking of a wooden cart."—*American Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 59.

NOTE 16.—“For my own part, I think it highly probable that upon the strictest scrutiny, if the Falls of the Great Kenawha can be made navigable, or a short portage be had there, it will be found of equal importance and convenience to improve the navigation of both the James and the Potomac. The latter, I am fully persuaded, affords the nearest communication with the lakes; but the James River may be more convenient for all the settlers below the mouth of the Great Kenawha, and for some distance perhaps above and west of it.”—*Washington to Gen. Harrison*, Oct. 10, 1784.

NOTE 17.—The reader of to-day who is whirled over the distance separating Cincinnati and Pittsburg between breakfast and supper, will be interested in the following advertisement of a line of packet boats running up and down the Ohio between those places

ninety-five years ago, making the round trip in four weeks, and which were doubtless regarded as attaining the very acme of speed and safety in traveling. The advertisement is taken from the "Centinel of the North Western Territory," published at Cincinnati in 1793, five years after the first settlement of Ohio, and the first paper established north of the river:

OHIO PACKET BOATS.

Two boats for the present will set out from Cincinnati for Pittsburg and return to Cincinnati in the following manner, viz.:

First boat will leave Cincinnati this morning at 8 o'clock, and return to Cincinnati so as to be ready to sail again in four weeks from this date.

Second boat will leave Cincinnati on Saturday, the 30th inst., and return to Cincinnati in four weeks, as above.

And so regularly, each boat performing the voyage to and from Cincinnati to Pittsburg once in every four weeks.

Two boats, in addition to the above, will shortly be compleated and regulated in such

a manner that one boat of the four will set out weekly from Cincinnati to Pittsburg and return in like manner.

The proprietor of these boats having maturely considered the many inconveniences and dangers incident to the common method hitherto adopted of navigating the Ohio, and being influenced by a love of philanthropy and desire of being serviceable to the public, has taken great pains to render the accommodations on board the boats as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made.

No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made proof against rifle or musquet balls, and convenient port holes for firing out of. Each of the boats are armed with six pieces, carrying a pound ball; also a number of good muskets and amply supplied with plenty of ammunition, strongly manned with choice hands, and the masters of approved knowledge.

A separate cabin from that designed for the men is partitioned off in each boat for accommodating ladies on their passage. * * *

Passengers will be supplied with provisions

and liquors of all kinds, of the first quality, at the most reasonable rates possible. * * *

For freight or passage apply at the insurance office, or to the master on board.

JACOB MYERS.

Cincinnati, Nov. 16, 1793.

NOTE 18—One of the controlling considerations in the selection of a site for the settlement by the Ohio Company at the mouth of the Muskingum was that it might be under the protection of Fort Harmar, which was just across the river, and where there was a regular garrison of United States troops.

NOTE 19—The plan originally proposed by Congress for the survey and sale of the first seven ranges west of Pennsylvania contemplated that the ranges should extend northward to Lake Erie, but the subsequent arrangements with the State of Connecticut recognized her claim to the soil (but not the jurisdiction which was reserved to the United States) in all that portion of Ohio north of the 41st parallel of latitude, and east of a north and south line drawn at a distance of 120 miles west of the Pennsylvania line, and forming what is known as the Connec-

ticut Western Reserve, comprising approximately at present the twelve northeastern counties of Ohio. This arrangement caused the survey of the seven ranges to stop at the forty-first parallel, and for a time turned the tide of emigration southward toward the Ohio, Connecticut not beginning the survey and sale of her reserve till a later period.

NOTE 20—The expression "United States" seems to be used here as referring to the older settled States of the Atlantic sea-board, just as the older States are at this day spoken of in the Territories, and on the Pacific coast as "the States."

"He was hurt by a car
When he tunneled with Bates.
He mined on the bar
Till he couldn't pay rates;
And right on the top of his troubles
Came his wife and five kids from 'the States.'"

NOTE 21—Ships on the Ohio—In 1799, Louis Anastasius Tarascon, a French merchant of Philadelphia, sent two of his clerks, Charles Brugiere and James Berthond, to examine the course of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and ascertain the practicability of sending

ships ready rigged to the West Indies and Europe. They reported favorably, and Mr. Tarascon, associating them and his brother with him as partners, immediately established in Pittsburgh a large wholesale and retail store and warehouse, a ship yard, a rigging and sail loft, an anchor-smith's shop, a block manufactory, and, in short, everything necessary to complete vessels for sea. The first year, 1801, they built the schooner Amity, of 120 tons, and the ship Pittsburgh, of 250, and sent the former, loaded with flour, to St. Thomas, and the other, also with flour, to Philadelphia, from whence they sent them to Bordeaux, and brought back wine, brandy and other French goods, part of which they sent to Pittsburgh in wagons, at a carriage of from six to eight cents per pound. In 1802 they built the brig Nanino, of 250 tons; in 1803 the ship Louisiana, of 300 tons, and in 1804 the ship Western Trader, of 400 tons." —*American Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 307.

"As soon as ship-building commenced at Marietta, in 1800, the farmers along the borders of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers turned their attention to the cultivation of hemp in addition to their other crops. In a few

years sufficient was raised not only to furnish cordage to the ships of the West, but large quantities were worked up in the various rope walks and sent as freight in the vessels to the Atlantic cities. Iron, so important an article in all the mechanical arts of civilization, and without which, it is said by philosophers, we should still have remained in the savage state, was made in abundance at the forges on the Juniata, and furnished an article which, to this day, is justly celebrated in the West for its strength and tenacity.

“By the year 1805 no less than two ships, seven brigs and three schooners had been built and rigged by the citizens of Marietta. Captain Jonathan Devoll ranked amongst the earliest of Ohio shipwrights. After the Indian war he settled on a farm five miles above Marietta, on the fertile bottoms of the Muskingum. Here he built a ‘floating mill’ for making flour, and in 1801 a ship of 230 tons, called the Muskingum, and the brig Eliza Greene, of 150 tons.”—*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 90.

NOTE 22.—A plan since carried out by the construction of the Louisville and Portland canal.

NOTE 23.—Since preparing the following translation of the report to Lord Hillsborough, I have met with the original document in English. It will be found in Volume II, page 6, of the "Olden Time," a periodical published at Pittsburg in 1846 and 1847, and devoted to the preservation of information concerning the early exploration and settlement of the country round the head of the Ohio. Where the original English report varies from the translation, it will be pointed out in the notes.

This report to Lord Hillsborough appears to have been made when he was considering the petitions of Thomas Walpole and others to the king for the privilege of making a purchase of land and founding a colony on the south side of the Ohio River, which petition had been referred to the Board of Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, of which he was president for report. See a very interesting article by Professor Hinsdale on the western land policy of the British Government in the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* for December, 1887.

NOTE 24.—The English version has "rye" where the French has "riz"—rice.

NOTE 25.—In the English original are here inserted the words “in the year 1772.”

Note 26.—“The new settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum attracted the attention of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and an appropriation of money was made to survey a route for a road from Alexandria on the Potomac to the Ohio River opposite Marietta. The commissioners found a very feasible course, and the estimated distance only three hundred miles. A road was cut out, and for many years before the building of the National Turnpike from the Cumberland to the Ohio, merchandise was brought in wagons to the stores in Marietta from the Port of Alexandria.”—*Pioneer History*, p. 245.

NOTE 27.—The English version here says, “like the west country barges, rowed by only four or five men.”

NOTE 28.—The settlements in Illinois were the earliest made by the French in the Mississippi Valley; that at Kaskaskia dating back to the seventeenth century. “Attracted by a sense of beauty, and with a view to enterprise in the accumulation of furs, a small body of French adventurers from the Illinois, near

the close of the seventeenth century, moved forward and settled upon the borders of the Kaskaskia, a small river emptying into the Mississippi, about one hundred miles above the mouth of the Ohio, where they founded the little village of Kaskaskia."—*Brice's History of Fort Wayne*, p. 10.

We catch curious glimpses of these old French settlements in the history of the time. Vivier, writing from Illinois, in 1750, says: "We have here whites, negroes and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. There are five French villages, and three villages of the natives, within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated between the Mississippi and another river called the Karkadiad (Kaskaskia). In the five French villages are perhaps eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves, or savages. The three Illinois towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls all told. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed, and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans."

Twenty years later one man is said to have

furnished the king's stores from his crop 86,000 pounds of flour.

Hutchins, in his topography of Virginia, published in 1778, gives the population of Kaskaskia at nearly 1,000 white and black, the whites being a little the most numerous. —*Perkins' Western Annals*, pp. 38, 176, 178. George Rogers Clark, the same year, after his capture of the place, being surrounded by hostile Indians, and desiring to show his indifference, speaks of assembling a number of French ladies and gentlemen and having them dance nearly all night.

NOTE 29.—At the time of the sale by Congress of public lands to the Ohio Company, two townships of land (each six miles square) were reserved for the benefit of a university, and section number 16 (being a lot a mile square and containing 640 acres) in each township sold, was at the same time reserved for the support of the schools in said townships. Another section (number 29) was in the same manner reserved for the support of religion. —*Hildreth's Pioneer History*, p. 200.

NOTE 30.—“The colony at Marietta, like those of some of the ancient Greeks, carried

with it the sciences and the arts, and although placed on the frontier, amidst a howling and savage wilderness, exposed to many dangers and privations, there ran in the veins of its little community some of the best blood of the country. It enrolled many men of highly cultivated minds and exalted intellect; several of them claimed the halls of old Cambridge as their alma mater. The army of the Revolution furnished a number of officers who had distinguished themselves for their good conduct, as well as for their bravery."—*American Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 85.*

"The adjacent settlements of Belpre and Marietta, although secluded in the wilderness, contained many men of cultivated minds and refined manners, with whom he (Blennerhasset) held constant and familiar intercourse, so that he lacked none of the benefits of society, which his remote and insular situation would seem to indicate."—*Ibid., p. 93.*

NOTE 31.—Ohio.

NOTE 32.—The apprehensions here expressed were not wholly groundless. The ties of Union among the states were probably at their weakest in 1787. The articles of con-

federation which, under the stress of a common danger had carried the State through the war, had since its close proved wholly insufficient to reconcile their conflicting interests and serve the purpose of a Federal Government. The convention which formed the Constitution of the United States had been assembled "to form a more perfect union" and submitted its work to the people in September, but in the last days of the year it had been ratified by only two states out of the nine, necessary to give it effect and a strong minority in each of the States led by such men as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and James Monroe, of Virginia; Luther Martin, of Maryland, and John Hancock and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, doubtful of the effect of what was yet an experiment, were opposed to its adoption, at least without the addition to it of something in the nature of a Bill of Rights, such as was afterwards embodied in the first ten amendments. It was a formative and transition period during which each state was considering for itself in its own convention what course it should take. It was nearly three years after the completion of the constitution before all of the thirteen

State entered the Union. North Carolina did not adopt the Constitution for some two years after it was submitted to the States; and Rhode Island, the last to accede, had abstained from participating in the convention which framed it, and continued an independent Government for nearly a year after the United States Government was in operation under the administration of Washington. While things were in this unsettled state, great excitement and dissatisfaction arose among the people west of the mountains, in connection with two questions deeply concerning their welfare. One was the retention of the Western posts by the British, of which Congress seemed unwilling or unable to compel the surrender and which the Western people regarded as so many centres of disaffection and points of supply for the Indians. The other was the apparent intention of Congress to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi for a long term of years in exchange for a commercial treaty with Spain, which, it was argued, would have the effect of destroying the natural outlet and market, vital to the prosperity of the Western country, for the sake of promoting the commercial interests of the Eastern States.

Excitement for a time ran high in the West, but it soon quieted down and the fear of serious results from it seemed to have been much exaggerated.

NOTE 33.—“The City of the Confederation.” This was written in 1787. At that time the Continental Congress was sitting in New York, and the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States was in session in Philadelphia. As the result of the convention’s labors was not published until the autumn of 1787, it is probable that that clause of the Constitution giving Congress exclusive jurisdiction over such district not exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress become the seat of the Government of the United States, was not known to the writer of the pamphlet. At all events the site of the future Capital was wholly undetermined.

NOTE 34.—The Ordinance of 1787 provided that, “the utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights

and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them and for preserving peace and friendship with them." Unfortunately the good intentions of Congress proved powerless to prevent collisions between the whites and Indians, which soon led to open war. It is a curious fact, however, that the French settlers at Gallipolis, whose emigration was promoted by this pamphlet, were almost wholly exempt from hostilities during the Indian war; the Indians, when they heard the settlers were French abstaining from an attack upon them out of regard for the ancient friendship existing between them and the French nation.

NOTE 35.—The valley of the Muskingum and of its chief tributary, the Tuscarawas (both of which at that day were known as the Muskingum) was not only the scene of the first permanent settlement of Ohio, but of the first Christian Mission — that of the Moravian Brethren. Fifteen years before the settlement of Marietta these devoted Christians had pen-

etrated the wilderness as far as the Tuscarawas and within the next few years had established upon its banks several villages of Indian converts—Schonbron, Gnadenhutten and Salem. Schonbron had two streets laid out in the form of a T. On the transverse street, about the middle of it and opposite the main street, which ran from east to west, and was both long and broad, stood the church.*** At the northwest corner of the main street was the school house. The bottom, from the foot of the bluff to the river was converted into corn-fields. The town contained more than sixty houses of squared timber, besides huts and lodges.”—*Life of Zeisberger*—page 380.

The efforts making at the present day for the civilization and Christianization of the Indians will render interesting and important a brief account of the great success attained by the Moravian Missionaries in the wilds of Ohio over a century ago. I quote from the life of Zeisberger, page 423.

“The chapel at Schonbron could hold five hundred persons and yet it was often too small to accommodate the worshippers. Religion, as taught by the missionaries, became a subject of general inquiry among the Dela-

wares, so that Netawatwes expected to see them all converted within five or six years; and the Christian settlements were famed in the entire West, even in the remote regions of the Northwest. To this a company of traders bore witness, who came to see Schonbron. They had heard so much of its prosperity in every part of the wilderness that they had gone many miles out of their road to gratify their curiosity.

“And, indeed, these villages on the Tuscarawus deserved their reputation. In them the system which Zeisberger pursued to reclaim the savages, and teach them the ways of civilization, reached its highest state of development. Such settlements were remarkable not merely as towns, built with surprising regularity and neatness, but also as communities governed, without the aid of colonial magistrates, by a complete code of laws. In order to administer these, a council was set over each village, consisting of the missionaries and national assistants, or helpers as they were called. In such a council the influence of the white teachers, properly and necessarily, continued supreme; but a native element was, at the same time, brought out

that reconciled personal liberty, which the Indian prizes so highly, with restrictions tending to the common good. On occasions of extraordinary importance, such as the removal of the mission to a new locality, the decision was invariably left to a vote of the people. But, from one point of view, perhaps the most remarkable feature of these towns will appear in this, that they were centers of agriculture and not a collection of hunting lodges. The chase was by no means abandoned, but it had become a secondary object. To raise grain, cattle and poultry formed the principal occupation of the converts. Their plantations covered hundreds of acres along the rich bottoms of the valley; herds, more numerous than the West had ever seen, roamed through the forests or were pastured in their meadows, while few farmyards of Pennsylvania had fowls in greater variety. Men of judgment and distinction, coming from the Eastern colonies, were often filled with astonishment when they here beheld Indians, not only civilized, but changed in all their habits, and growing rich."

Colonel Morgan, the Indian agent at Fort Pitt, who was intimately acquainted with the

Indian character adds his testimony "That he was astonished at what he had seen in these towns. That the improvement of the Indians bespoke their industry; and that the cleanliness, order and regularity which were everywhere observable, added to their devotion gave them a claim to be ranked among the civilized part of mankind. That they deserved to be set up as an example to many of the whites. That to him it was now evident that the Indians when living by themselves and out of connection with the white people could easily be brought to a state of civilization and become good citizens of the United States; and that he considered our mode the surest, if not the only successful method of training converts who have been brought from paganism, idleness and debauchery to a state of Christianity."

It is a lamentable reflection that this fair promise for the spread of the Gospel was blighted by an act of lawless violence perpetrated by that class of white ruffians and murderers who have in every period of our history infested the frontier, to the disgrace of our civilization, and who in the year 1782 first made unresisting prisoners of and then mur-

dering, in cold blood, nearly one hundred of the Christian converts at Gnadenhutten and destroyed their Mission.

NOTE 36.—Toise — an old French measure equal to about six feet, in use, so far as I know, only in Detroit. Long since superseded in France, I found it a few years ago surviving in that ancient and conservative city, in daily business transactions.

NOTE 37.—The site of the present city of Cleveland. “From an early day the leading Virginia statesmen regarded the mouth of the Cuyahoga as an important commercial position. George Washington in his journey to the French forts Venango and Le Boeuf in 1753, obtained information which led him to consider it as the point of divergence of the future commerce of the lakes meeting the ocean; Virginia being then regarded as the state through which this trade must pass to the Atlantic. Mr. Jefferson in his “Notes” upon that State points out the channel through which it will move to the ocean. He considers the Cuyahoga and Mahoning as navigable and separated only by a short portage to be overcome by a canal. Once in the Ohio, produce

in his opinion might ascend its branches and descend the Potomac to the sea.”—*Charles Whittlesey in American Pioneer, Vol. 2 p. 24.*

On the evening of the 29th of April, 1786, the sloops *Beaver*, Captain Godrey, and *Macinaw*, Captain Anderson, belonging to the Northwest Company, having on board the Christian Indians of the Moravian Mission and bound from Detroit to the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, anchored in six fathoms of water between Van Rensalaer and Bass Islands—now known as Catawba Island and Put-in-Bay. That night a succession of easterly gales began, unprecedented in the experience of the oldest sailor on the lake. For four weeks, varied only by one unsuccessful attempt to make headway against the storm, the Indians were forced to inhabit these islands, living on fish, ducks, wild pigeons and raccoons. The missionaries remained aboard the vessels, whose anchorage had to be repeatedly shifted, until a deep harbor, which received the name of Hope's Cove, (afterwards known as Put-in-Bay from Perry's fleet putting in there after the battle of Lake Erie), was found on Bass Island, where the sloops were moored close by the shore

and fastened with cables to trees. The Island, itself, abounded in beautiful red cedars and ginseng, but was infested with a multitude of rattle snakes.

Toward the end of May the Beaver was ordered back to Detroit and the Indians disembarked at Rocky Point (now Scott's Point, or Ottawa City, in Ottawa county) and formed two divisions. The one with Zeisberger proceeding by land; the other, in charge of Heckewelder coasting along the southern shore in canoes; while Edwards, with the household goods, sailed for the Cuyahoga in the Mackinaw.

Zeisberger's party were all afoot and all had packs to carry. There was no trail; with Samuel Narticoke for a guide, they plunged through the wilderness as far as Sandusky.* There they hired canoes of Ottawa Indians and crossed the waters of the bay. Having celebrated Whitsuntide on the eastern side of the Pettquotting Creek (The Huron river), they resumed their march, meeting numerous hunt-

* Not apparently the site of the present city of Sandusky, but an Indian village on the north shore of Sandusky Bay near Point Marblehead.--See Knapp's history of the Maumee Valley, page 14.

ing and fishing parties, and being joined occasionally at night by Heckewelder's division. They were unable to procure a horse for Mrs. Ziesberger until within two days travel of the Cuyahoga, which river they reached on the 8th of June, and pitched their camp where the city of Cleveland now stands in all the beauty of its shady avenues. Both the Mackinaw and Heckewelder's party had arrived before them. —*See Life of Zeisberger, page 590.*

NOTE 38.—THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF THE MUSKINGUM VALLEY IN ITS PRIMEVAL CONDITION IS FROM THE LIFE OF ZEISBERGER.

He (Zeisberger) was now in the valley which was to be the scene of his greatest works and severest trials. Blooming like the rose, with its farms, its rich meadows and gorgeous orchards, it was in his day, although a wilderness, no less a land of plenty, and abounded in everything that makes the hunting grounds of the Indian attractive. It extended a distance of nearly eighty miles, enclosed on both sides by hills, at the foot of which lay wide plains, terminating abruptly in bluffs, or slop-

ing gently to the lower bottoms through which the river flowed. These plains, that now form the fruitful fields of the "second bottoms," as they are called, were then wooded with the oak and the hickory, the ash, the chestnut and the maple, which interlocked their branches, but stood comparatively free from the undergrowth of other forests. The river bottoms were far wilder. Here grew walnut trees and gigantic sycamores, whose colossal trunks even now astonish the traveler; bushy cedars, luxuriant horse-chestnuts and honey-locusts, cased in their armor of thorns. Between these clustered laurel bushes, with their rich tribute of flowers, or were coiled the thick mazes of the vine, from which more fragrant tendrils twined themselves into the nearest boughs, while here and there a lofty spruce tree lifted its evergreen crown high above the groves. These forests were generous to their children. They gave them the elm bark to make canoes, the rind of the birch for medicine, and every variety of game for food. The soil was even more liberal. It produced strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, gooseberries, black currants and cranberries; nourished the plum, the cherry, the

mulberry, the papaw and the crabtree, and yielded wild potatoes, parsnips and beans. Nor was the river chary of its gifts, but teemed with fish of unusual size and excellent flavor.

NOTE 39.—Alaman — Paint Creek.



